

**LET US DEFEND
THE SOCIALIST CAMP!**

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FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE

Pyongyang, D.P.R.K.

1963

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This is the English translation of an article published on October 28, 1963 in the *Rodong Shinmoon*, an organ of the Workers' Party of Korea.

The international communist movement is undergoing a severe test today. The differences in the international communist movement are assuming more serious dimensions. Some people, removed far from the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, are sliding down deep into the mire of revisionism. Modern revisionism has created a great obstacle to the people's cause of revolution and peace.

Due to the machinations of the revisionists the Communist and Workers' Parties are unable to maintain the unity of will and action in the struggle for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism. The unity of the socialist camp and the solidarity of the international communist movement are gravely endangered. This situation has given rise to deep concern among the Communists and the working class of the whole world.

The Korean Communists have keenly realised the great vitality of the socialist camp through their arduous struggle against the enemy.

We are against the split of the socialist camp and sincerely desire its unity. We consider it the pressing, common fighting task confronting the Communists of the whole world today to defend the unity of the socialist camp, strengthen its might and enhance its role, holding high the banner of Marxism-Leninism for the triumph of the international communist movement.

I.

THE SOCIALIST CAMP — A GREAT GAIN OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS

Today socialism is winning victory on a world-wide scale. Socialism has already won not only in the vast area of Europe and Asia but also in Cuba, an island country at the very doorstep of U.S. imperialism, the chieftain of world reaction.

The socialist camp today embraces one third of the world's population and one quarter of the land surface of the globe and accounts for more than 37 per cent of the industrial production of the world. In the development of science and technology, too, the socialist camp is ahead of the developed capitalist countries.

The influence of socialism on the world people has grown as never before and more and more people are fighting for socialism.

The forces of socialism are prevailing over the forces of imperialism in the international arena.

The growth of the forces of socialism is above all a great victory for the Communists and the working class the world over.

The world-historic victory won by the international working class, breaking the chains of capital, was by no means achieved with ease.

Since the publication of the great "Communist Manifesto" by Marx and Engels, the international working class under the guidance of the Communists has fought heroically, pulling

through numerous difficulties and grim tests, and paved the way to victory through life-and-death struggle against the enemy.

The capitalists and all the reactionary forces of the world declared the Communists their most formidable enemy and made every vicious attempt to check the spread of the ideas of scientific communism and the development of the international communist movement. Standing at the van of the progressive people, the Communists have always fought indescribably arduous battles against the vicious enemy of all hues.

On the thorny path of struggle the international communist movement went through many twists and turns. Sometimes the Communists suffered bitter setbacks and had to make painful retreats. Whenever they encountered trials, capitulationists and renegades emerged from among them and deranged the ranks of the revolution.

But true Communists have never been discouraged by setbacks nor carried away by victories; they have always stood by the red banner of revolution whether cowards fell off or not. Underground at times, with arms in their hands at other times and, at yet other times, behind the bars, the Communists fought unyieldingly solely for the liberation of the working class and toiling people.

Under the leadership of the Communists the international working class, braving all sacrifices, has ceaselessly attacked capital's positions and has grown into a great revolutionary force in the flames of fierce struggles against the enemy.

The Paris Commune, the first working class power in history, ended in failure after over 70-days' life-and-death struggle of the Paris working class who rose up to defend it. The Commune was drenched in blood by the barbarous white terror. However, the heroic battle exploits of the Paris working class and the priceless lesson gained at the cost of their

blood have been carried forward by the international working class.

The first great victory of the international communist movement was achieved by the working class of Russia under the leadership of Lenin. With the victory of the October Socialist Revolution socialism was converted from a scientific ideology into a living reality and the international communist movement came to have a mighty bulwark.

The victory of the October Revolution roused the working class and toiling people of the whole world to a heroic struggle for freedom and liberation and awakened hundreds of millions of the peoples of the East who **"have stood outside of history and have been regarded merely as the object of history"** (Lenin) (1) for a long time. The revolutionary tempest swept the whole world and the revolutionary movement of the international working class, linked up with the liberation movement of the oppressed nations of the East, dealt more fatal blows to imperialism.

The imperialists and reactionary forces of all hues desperately tried to strangle the Soviet Union, the first socialist state, and put down the international communist and labour movement.

But the Soviet people, under the leadership of Lenin's Party, beat back the vicious attacks of the enemies, both domestic and foreign, and defended the great gains of the revolution to the last and successfully built socialism overcoming all difficulties in the capitalist encirclement. Despite the desperate efforts of the enemy, the ranks of the international communist movement speedily grew into a mighty force under the great revolutionary banner — the banner of Leninism.

International capital produced fascism, the most ferocious and truculent imperialism, in the arena of history, and drove

All the boldface emphases in this article are the same as those appearing in the **Rodong Shinmoon**. —Ed.

it into fighting as a shock-brigade in the battle against the Soviet Union, a socialist state, and the international communist and labour movement. A fierce battle was waged between revolution and counter-revolution on a world-wide scale.

In Europe and Asia, in all parts of the world, the Communists fought heroically at the van of the anti-fascist front and shed their precious blood in the decisive battles against the heinous enemy. A great number of Communists waged long-drawn armed struggles leading the oppressed labouring masses and dealt telling blows to the plunderers.

Thanks to the decisive role of the heroic Soviet Army, the German fascist and Japanese militarists were routed completely.

The attempt of the imperialists to wipe out the international communist movement was smashed by the heroic struggle of the international working class and the oppressed toiling masses, and many peoples of the world won victory in the struggle for freedom and independence.

People's democratic revolution emerged victorious in a number of European and Asian countries. The triumph of the great Chinese revolution administered a telling blow to the forces of imperialism, turned the balance of forces in the international arena decisively in favour of socialism and greatly inspired the national-liberation movement in colonies.

Socialism grew beyond the bounds of one country and developed into a world system and the socialist countries formed a powerful camp standing opposed to the imperialist camp.

The formation of the socialist camp was a great historic event in the development of the international communist movement. From then on the international communist movement came to have a rock-firm foundation for the final victory of revolution and the forces of socialism have gradually become a decisive factor in the development of human society.

The formation of the socialist camp is a law-governed

process of the development of human history. It is a product of the bitter class struggle between the international working class and the international capitalist class; it is the outcome of the victory of socialism over capitalism. It is the main issue of the international communist movement which has traversed the path of glorious struggle for over one century holding aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism, and it is the great fruition of the bloody struggles of the international working class and oppressed toiling masses over a long period. The formation of the socialist camp further confirmed the inevitability of the fall of capitalism and the victory of socialism.

The socialist camp has not been brought into being artificially by anyone, nor formed by any international treaty, nor is it a temporary "bloc." It has been formed historically in the course of the development of the liberation struggle of the international working class. The victorious working classes have been united into one camp as a necessity in accordance with the requirement of class solidarity inherent in them.

"The socialist camp is a social, economic and political community of free and sovereign peoples united by the close bonds of international socialist solidarity, by common interests and objectives, and following the path of socialism and communism" (*Statement of the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties*).

As a class alliance of the socialist countries, states of a new type guided by the working class, the socialist camp has already demonstrated its great vitality clearly. It has not only played a big role in achieving the common prosperity of the peoples of the fraternal countries embraced in the socialist camp but also has made an enormous contribution to the cause of peace and revolution of the world people.

The united, mighty socialist camp is a great revolutionary force of our age, invincible bulwark of world peace and reliable guarantee of victory for all the progressive people.

The existence of the socialist camp unites the world working class and revolutionary people and powerfully encourages and inspires the progressive people of the whole world to a heroic struggle. The growth of the might of the socialist camp turns the general international situation more favourably for the revolutionary struggle of the people. It also deals a powerful blow to the aggressive policy of imperialism and terrifies all the reactionary forces.

The U.S.-led imperialists and their lackeys are frantically trying to subvert the socialist camp. Especially, today the imperialists are more and more persistent in their sinister machinations to disrupt the socialist camp from within and shatter the socialist countries one by one. They endeavour to split the socialist camp by estranging the socialist countries from each other and to make profit out of it.

In their manoeuvres to undermine the socialist camp the imperialists are using the modern revisionists. The Tito clique have been systematically resorting to nefarious manoeuvrings against the socialist camp and faithfully serving the imperialists since the first days they degenerated into revisionism.

Today certain people are actively vindicating the Titoites and increasing confusion in the socialist camp, thereby following the dangerous course of splitting it. This shows that they have allied themselves with the imperialists and Titoites who are attempting to wreck the socialist camp. The international working class and the people of the entire socialist countries can never tolerate the destruction of the great revolutionary gains they won and have safeguarded with their blood.

For the ultimate victory of the international communist movement the Communists and the working class of the whole world must frustrate all the subversive manoeuvres of the imperialists and modern revisionists and resolutely defend the socialist camp, the great gain of the international working class.

II.

TO DEFEND THE ENTIRE SOCIALIST CAMP IS THE INTERNATIONAL DUTY OF THE COMMUNISTS

The invincible might of the socialist camp lies in the cohesion of its ranks. The united force of the socialist camp is an important guarantee for reliably defending each socialist country from the aggression of the imperialists and for ensuring the complete victory of socialism throughout the socialist camp. The unity of the socialist camp redoubles the might of the communist movement.

Unity is the mightiest weapon in the hands of the working class. From the very moment it made its appearance on the arena of history, the working class could win arduous struggles against the capitalist class by relying on the might of unity. Even today the socialist camp can continue to administer heavy blows at the imperialists and drive them into a tight corner only by maintaining the unity of its ranks.

Owing to the internal differences today, however, the socialist camp is, in fact, unable to make advance as integrated ranks, as a united force.

Unprecedented things are happening in our ranks: the brother Parties and brother countries standing for Marxism-Leninism and holding fast to the revolutionary stand are slandered and attacked in face of the imperialists.

Manoeuvrings are being perpetrated to isolate and exclude this or that socialist country by extending ideological disputes to state relations. Tumultuous campaigns are being unfolded against the Marxist-Leninist Parties and brother countries.

even by mobilizing the popular masses, other brother Parties and international organisations.

Certain persons have gone to the extent of making no distinction between the revolutionary comrades and the class enemies. They resort to the intolerable practice of getting closer with the enemies and showing their "friendship" and "goodwill" to them, while treating the class brothers and revolutionary comrades like enemies.

The fraternal Parties and countries which should share life and death, sweets and bitters in the joint struggle for the cause of the working class the world over are thus dealt blows from behind.

This only gladdens the imperialists. They are eager to see that we are at feud and quarrel with each other and break with each other. They are busy describing the "split" of the socialist camp as a fait accompli, clamouring "Let's not miss the chance to take advantage of the differences!" in the international communist movement.

The Communists cannot remain indifferent to this grave situation that concerns the destiny of the socialist camp and the future of world revolution.

Today the Communists throughout the world are confronted with the urgent task of resolutely defending the socialist camp before anything else.

To defend the socialist camp is to safeguard the historical gains of the long-drawn struggle of the working class the world over and to defend the base of world revolution. Defending the socialist camp does not mean defending any one socialist country or only some of the countries of this camp, but it means safeguarding the achievements gained by the peoples of all socialist countries in socialist construction and defending the socialist camp as a whole.

In the past it was the touchstone of proletarian internationalism to support and defend the Soviet Union, the then only socialist state in the world.

In the past the Soviet Union built socialism by itself in the capitalist encirclement, actively inspired and supported the peoples of all countries in their revolutionary struggles. The Soviet Union was the only base of world revolution.

Therefore, for the world Communists of those days to defend and support the Soviet Union was the sacred internationalist duty to support and defend world revolution. That was quite natural.

In the grim years under Japanese imperialists' colonial rule, the Korean Communists together with the Communists of the whole world looked up to the Soviet Union with hope and expressed militant solidarity with the Soviet people under the slogan, "Let's defend the Soviet Union with arms!"

Today the number of the socialist countries has swelled to thirteen, as a result of which the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have all come to assume the role of "shock brigade" in the international revolutionary movement.

Stalin said: "Of course, it was very difficult to fulfil this honourable role when there was only one 'shock brigade' and when it had to perform this vanguard role almost single-handedly. But this is a thing of the past.

"Now situation is altogether different. Now that new 'shock brigades' have emerged in the form of People's Democracies from China and Korea to Czechoslovakia and Hungary, it has become easier for our Party to fight, and our work, too, has become more delightful." (2)

With the ranks of the socialist countries growing, the base of world revolution has been expanded. At present not a certain country but the entire socialist camp constitutes the base of world revolution.

It is, therefore, a genuinely internationalist act at present to support and defend both the Soviet Union and all the other socialist states, the socialist camp as a whole. Only with such attitude is it possible to jointly safeguard and consolidate the gains of revolution and further promote world revolution.

Among the socialist countries there are, of course, big and small countries, countries young and old in their history of revolution.

A big country and a country with a long history of revolution can and must play a greater role in international relations than a small country and a country with a short history of revolution. A big country which accomplished revolution ahead of others can make a greater contribution to strengthening the might of the socialist camp, exert greater influence upon the liberation struggle of the exploited masses and oppressed nations and also play a bigger role in safeguarding world peace.

This, however, does not mean that any one country can represent or act on behalf of the entire socialist camp.

No matter how big and advanced it may be, the might of one country cannot take the place of the might of the entire socialist camp and one country cannot play the role of the entire socialist camp.

If all the socialist countries, big and small, young and old in their history of revolution, economically developed and backward, make persevering efforts from their revolutionary stand, they can make due contributions each from his own position to strengthening the might of the entire socialist camp and developing the international communist movement. Cuba, for instance, as the first socialist country in the Western Hemisphere, is exerting tremendous revolutionizing influence on the entire people of Latin America today. It is quite clear that no other socialist state can fill the position and play the role of Cuba.

The socialist camp can fully display its might only when all the socialist countries pool their strength and are firmly united as an integral whole. We must, therefore, strive in every way to strengthen the might of the entire socialist camp and enhance its role.

If leaders of this or that Party only boast that their country is large, is a great power with huge economic might, and

disregard other fraternal Parties and states, it will weaken the might and undermine the unity of the socialist camp and do great harm to the international communist movement.

Recently some people behave as if they would not grudge severing some countries from the socialist camp.

This is a concrete expression of the wrong idea that a certain country can do anything it likes from its privileged position and that the other countries do not play any major role.

The Communists prize not only the revolutionary achievements of any one particular country but also the achievements of all the socialist countries.

We must defend and further cement the socialist camp, the glorious gain of the international labour movement, and, on this basis, press ahead toward a fresh victory. It is a most important guarantee for the future victory to fortify the strongholds of socialism we have taken. If the unity and might of the socialist camp are weakened, it will bring about serious consequences in the international communist movement.

We see a world-wide campaign being unfolded against the Chinese People's Republic of late.

Imperialists and all the international reactionary forces harbour a savage hatred toward the victory of the Chinese revolution; they are frantically working to impair the prestige of China and isolate her.

Nevertheless, certain self-styled Communists have joined hands with the imperialists in hurling groundless slanders and diatribes at the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese People's Republic and fiercely attacking them. This is a shameful and extremely dangerous act.

To isolate China means, in effect, to split the socialist camp. To be frank, how can one talk about the socialist camp if China which comprises two-thirds of the population of the socialist camp is excluded?

This is not only the case with a big country but a small

country as well. It is impermissible to exclude any socialist country from the socialist camp, no matter how small it is. Such an act is tantamount to leaving the gains of socialism attained through the long-drawn revolutionary struggle to the mercy of the imperialists.

Is it not quite clear that if the socialist camp is not defended, but, instead, things develop in such a way that a country was isolated and excluded yesterday and another country today and still another tomorrow, this will in the long run split the socialist camp and break up the international communist movement completely?

To isolate and exclude this or that socialist country is not a separate question concerning the victim alone but a fundamental question that concerns the destiny of the entire socialist camp and the destiny of world revolution.

We hope that revolution will be victorious even in one country more and the ranks of the socialist countries will expand steadily, and we are fighting to this end. This being so, how can we ever tolerate such a practice as severing the already victorious socialist state? How much better it is that not one country but two, not twelve countries but thirteen belong to the socialist camp!

Some people, while trying to sever individual states from the socialist camp, are scheming arbitrarily to draw into the socialist camp such a servitor of imperialism as the Titoites who have been unanimously condemned in the international communist movement.

That is preposterous.

Whether this or that country belongs to the socialist camp or not can not be decided by the subjective views of any individual or several persons. Even if they want to exclude a country from the socialist camp, it does not cease to be a socialist country, and even if they try to grant the "title of socialism" to a country which is not socialist and to drag it into the socialist camp, it cannot become a socialist country.

The socialist camp cannot be made a plaything of any individual.

Split should never be permitted and unity should be safeguarded.

The socialist camp must be united on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and on the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement adopted at the Meetings of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties. No unity can be achieved apart from these principles.

Those who deviate from the road of revolution and create the split of the socialist camp will have to shoulder grave responsibility for the ensuing consequences.

The Marxist-Leninist Parties, in whatever circumstances, will overcome all trials and march ahead vigorously, holding aloft the banner of proletarian internationalism and carry through to the last the socialist revolution and socialist construction. The forward movement of revolution cannot be checked.

The socialist camp can fulfil its historical mission when it is firmly united in monolithic ranks, opposes imperialism and revisionism resolutely and forges ahead holding aloft the banner of revolution.

III.

FRATERNAL PARTIES AND COUNTRIES MUST STRICTLY ABIDE BY THE STANDARDS OF THEIR MUTUAL RELATIONS

The Communist and Workers' Parties and the socialist countries are united by one and the same idea and the common goal of struggle.

The Declaration and the Statement of the Meetings of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties made from the Marxist-Leninist point of view an all-round exposition of the essence of relations among fraternal Parties and countries and the principles guiding them.

The Declaration and the Statement laid down the standards of mutual relations among brother Parties and countries — complete equality, sovereignty, mutual respect, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and comradely assistance.

These standards are a conclusion unanimously drawn by the fraternal Parties after summing up the historical experience accumulated in the long course of the development of the international communist movement and the socialist camp.

It is these standards that provide the basis for the solidarity, and the criterion for the united action, of the Parties of all countries. The correctness of these standards has already been proved by life.

When the fraternal Parties and socialist countries strictly observe these standards governing their mutual relations, the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement will become truly voluntary, conscious and solid.

If these standards are violated and words do not accord with deeds, complicated problems arise inevitably among fraternal Parties and countries and do harm to the unity of the socialist camp.

All the socialist countries and the Communist and Workers' Parties are equal and independent and they must respect each other.

Within the ranks of the communist movement no one can claim a privileged position and there can be no relation of senior and junior; there can be no such relations in which one issues orders and exercises control from a central post, while the others obey and execute the orders.

No Party should force its will upon the others or demand unilateral respect from them.

The Communist and Workers' Parties must support, cooperate with and help each other in a comradely way.

In recent years, there have been in the international communist movement gross contraventions of these standards of mutual relations agreed upon by the fraternal Parties.

Everyone asserts that he adheres to the principles laid down in the Declaration and the Statement of the Meetings of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties. But all of them do not observe these principles in deeds.

Some claim that the principle of centralism and the principle of the minority obeying the majority should be applied in the relations among the brother Parties.

The principle of centralism is a norm applied in the inner life of individual Parties. This principle can never be applied to the relations among fraternal Parties.

Within a Party, the lower Party organizations submit to higher organizations, all Party organizations submit to the Party Central Committee, and the minority to the majority.

What would happen if this norm governing the inner life of individual Parties is applied to the relations among fraternal Parties? It might bring about the result that an individual Party with established authority imposes its unilateral will upon other Parties by raking up the mechanical majority. Then, conscious and voluntary unity would disappear, arrogance of great-nation chauvinism and bureaucratic despotism would prevail and mutual distrust be created in the ranks of the communist movement.

It would, in the long run, be impossible for the fraternal Parties to maintain unity of will and action among them.

The Communists have from the beginning fought against inequality of all shapes. How can the Communists themselves create a relationship of inequality today?

The demand for the application of the principle of central-

ism to the mutual relationship between the brother Parties was rejected and frustrated already at the Meetings of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of various countries.

Today, the brother Parties of various countries carry on their activities in a situation fundamentally different from the time when the Communist International existed.

The world revolutionary movement has expanded and developed in all continents on an unprecedented scale and in diverse forms and the situation is undergoing radical, complex changes. The Communist and Workers' Parties of various countries have been so seasoned, through a protracted revolutionary struggle, as to assume the responsibility of the revolution in their own countries and have grown into powerful political forces.

Under these circumstances, an exclusive leadership from one "centre" has become impossible and unnecessary.

This, of course, does not mean that the fraternal Parties of all countries conduct their revolutionary work separately without maintaining any interrelations.

The Communist and Workers' Parties and socialist countries must work in close co-operation and support each other on the proletarian internationalist principles in the struggle against the common enemy and for the common cause.

At the same time, the fraternal Parties of all countries must achieve the unanimity of views through collective consultations on questions of common concern, work out a unified strategy and tactics for the international communist movement and unanimously hold to their joint assessments and conclusions.

Only by so doing, is it possible to strengthen the class solidarity among the brother Parties and countries and ensure the unity of their will and action.

Differences of views may occur among fraternal Parties. They may arise from the difference of the conditions of acti-

vities and specific duties of the fraternal Parties of various countries and also from the misconception of Marxism-Leninism and the wrong approach toward the revolution.

In case differences of views arise between fraternal Parties, they should be overcome with sincerity and patience through comradely consultations on the basis of facts and principles.

But today some people have discarded at will the principles agreed upon by the fraternal Parties and try to dispose of the differences by various coercive methods. They arbitrarily attach the labels of "dogmatism," "sectarianism," "nationalism," "adventurism," and "warlike elements" to those fraternal Parties which do not obey their will.

Of late they are gradually extending ideological polemics among the Parties to worsen the state relations. They have unilaterally repealed their agreements with fraternal countries and have virtually cut off the relations of economic and technical co-operation. They expel ambassadors and other diplomats and correspondents frequently. They do not hesitate to sever even state relations with fraternal countries.

Why should they extend ideological disputes among fraternal Parties even to the state relations and continue to aggravate the situation?

How can they behave in this way toward the fraternal countries, while endeavouring to improve the state relations even with imperialist countries?

This only benefits the imperialists and brings losses to the socialist camp.

Under any circumstances, the Communists must not deviate from the class stand nor forget communist morality and duty.

The Marxist-Leninist Parties of various countries of the world are firmly linked up with one another by the class solidarity of the working class. The international communist movement is unthinkable apart from the principle of class alli-

ance. The fraternal Parties of all countries must respect and co-operate with each other on an equal footing only as class comrades-in-arms, regardless of colour, race, region or the level of the development of the country.

Some people trample upon even this elementary principle of the international communist movement nowadays.

Some people allege that the Parties in Asia are not capable of acting independently for "lack of experience." And still others look down on the class brothers of other countries, boasting of the "superiority" and distinguished role of a certain nation or a certain race.

All these are an arrogant attitude of insulting the fraternal Parties and an act of chauvinism that undermines class solidarity. That is absolutely impermissible for the revolutionaries.

The idea of "backward Asia" and the idea of "superior nation" and "inferior nation" are survivals of the past which were repudiated and buried long ago. The ranks of the communist movement should make clean riddance of them.

The practice of one side interfering in the other's internal affairs and demanding unilateral respect from the latter is the main source of aggravating normal relations among brother Parties and countries.

Some meddle in the domestic affairs of fraternal Parties and countries and impose their unilateral will in the name of aid.

It is the due internationalist duty of the Communist and Workers' Parties and socialist countries to support and co-operate with each other in the struggle for their common cause. And such mutual assistance and co-operation are necessary to all the fraternal Parties and countries alike, not to any one of them alone. Accordingly, their aim is neither to do a favour nor to make entry in the account book as the merchants do.

It has nothing in common with proletarian international-

ism to indulge in boasting of aid and use it as a means of political interference and economic pressure.

"Aid" with strings attached or "aid" given as a precondition for interference in others' internal affairs, as practiced among capitalist countries, cannot and must not exist among socialist countries.

The aid of socialist countries should serve for the consolidation of sovereignty and independence of each recipient and for the strengthening and development of the socialist camp.

Certain people describe the Party congress of an individual country as the opening of a "new stage" in the international communist movement, proclaim the policies and decisions of an individual Party as a "joint programme" of the international communist movement and try to impose them upon other fraternal Parties.

Decisions or measures of a Party are obligatory on that Party alone and they cannot be binding on the activities of other Parties.

It is all the more impermissible to try to force the "anti-personality cult" campaign on other Parties, and behind this smokescreen interfere in the internal affairs of brother Parties and countries and even scheme to overthrow the Party leadership of the countries. Is it not true that precisely because of the "anti-personality cult" clamours, many fraternal Parties suffered from unnecessary "fever" and the international communist movement sustained serious losses? Yet, the "anti-personality cult" clamours are being raised by certain people still now. Such action must be categorically rejected in the international communist movement. Some also try to dictate the domestic and foreign policies of other fraternal Parties and control their implementation. To force one's own subjective views upon other fraternal Parties without a clear understanding of their actual conditions will bring enormous losses to socialist revolution and socialist construction.

In the past period, some comrades failed to express due understanding or support to our Party's policies for socialist construction either.

Without a clear notion of our actual conditions, they took issues with us, saying: "The Five-Year Plan is an illusion," "You needn't build machine-building industry," "The speed of your agricultural co-operation is too fast," "How can you effect agricultural co-operation without farm machines?" and so on.

Needless to say we did not suffer big losses from these counsels, because we acted independently as we had determined. It is not difficult to imagine that we should have suffered certain damages if we had acted otherwise.

It is evident that inasmuch as the socialist revolution and socialist construction of each country are carried out under different circumstances and different historical conditions, policies or experiences of any one Party cannot be applied indiscriminately to all other countries.

The Communist and Workers' Parties must trust each other, rejoice over each other's success, have a due understanding of the lines and policies of fraternal Parties, respect their experience and learn from each other open-heartedly. However, some people who are accustomed to dipping their fingers in another's internal affairs are not interested in nor rejoice over the actual achievements made by the fraternal Parties in the revolutionary struggle and construction, but, instead, always harbour doubts about fraternal Parties and only keep a close watch as to whether the fraternal Parties act as they have "instructed" and introduce their experience as a whole.

Thus, they unilaterally demand the fraternal countries obligatorily to report decisions and documents of a certain Party in their press and radios, even try to supervise how the fraternal countries study the history of a certain Party and how they learn the language of a certain country and go so

far as to question as to how the films of a certain country are received and try to interfere in the matter. The spirit of equality and mutual respect can no longer be seen here.

These are nothing but an expression of big-power chauvinism.

If the relationship among fraternal Parties and socialist countries is allowed to develop this way, how can it be called state relationship of a new type based on proletarian internationalism?

The relationship among the imperialist countries is one of domination and submission which allows larger countries to interfere in the domestic affairs of smaller countries, force their will upon the latter and demand unilateral respect and obedience. The imperialist countries advocate mutual "friendship" and "solidarity" outwardly but carry out subversive activities behind the back of others. They advertise "co-operation" and "aid" in words, but in deeds utilise them as a means of subordinating other countries politically and economically.

Such relations can never be tolerated among the socialist countries. The relations among the socialist countries are a state relationship of an entirely new type, the first of its kind in history.

For the development of such fraternal relations and for the strengthening of the unity of the socialist camp and the solidarity of the international communist movement, "scepticism" should be liquidated and big-power chauvinism rejected.

At the same time, we consider that the tendency to lose independency and follow other Parties blindly under outside pressure must also be overcome.

To parrot another's words mechanically and follow in another's steps without using one's own judgement will not consolidate the unity of the communist movement nor does it mean loyalty to internationalism. On the contrary, it will inevitably bring losses to the revolutionary cause of one's own country and weaken the internationalist cohesion.

Lenin pointed out: "The unity of international tactics of the communist working-class movement of all countries demands, not the elimination of variety, not the abolition of national differences, but such an application of the fundamental principles of communism (Soviet power and the dictatorship of the proletariat) as will... correctly adapt and apply them to national and national-state differences." (3)

Only by maintaining their independent position can the Parties of all countries enforce their policies to suit the specific conditions of their countries.

The Communists are not engaged in the revolutionary work to be applauded by anyone. Proceeding from the Marxist-Leninist conviction of its own, each Party leads the revolution of its country and assumes responsibility before its people. It must shape and pursue its policy by judging independently the problems arising in revolution and construction and creatively applying the principles of Marxism-Leninism to the historical conditions and national peculiarities in its own country.

In socialist revolution and socialist construction it should not step back from the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism nor follow the policies and experiences of fraternal Parties mechanically in disregard of the national peculiarities.

Comrade Kim Il Sung pointed out: "In the future, too, we must continue to study the experience of the fraternal Parties and learn from it. But we shall not be able to avoid the error of dogmatism if we fail to study and consider always the stage of historical development and concrete social and class relations of those countries where the experience was gained as well as the actual situation of our country where it is to be applied." (4)

One should not swallow another's experience in toto. When a Party commits dogmatist errors, it will eventually find itself divorced from reality and the popular masses and will become unable to discharge satisfactorily the national and in-

ternational duties it has assumed before the international communist movement.

Therefore, that the Party of each country maintains self-judgement and independent position is of weighty importance for the development of the revolution of that country and the unity of the international communist movement.

The experience gained by the Parties of all countries in socialist revolution and socialist construction should be respected by every Party. One should not think that only the experience of a particular Party is useful and can serve as a model, and that the experience gained by other Parties is not worthy of learning or consideration.

The historical experience accumulated in the past years by the Soviet people in socialist revolution and socialist construction under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which was headed by Lenin and later by the successor of his cause Stalin constitutes precious assets of universal significance.

To negate these historical experience and describe the past period of the Soviet people as a "dark period" is to depart from the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and the road of the October Revolution. The so-called "Yugoslav road" put up by the Tito clique is a case in point.

Along with the experience of those countries where capitalism developed, the experience of socialist revolution and socialist construction accumulated by those countries which were once colonies or semi-colonies, is also of weighty significance.

Those countries which were colonies or semi-colonies have their own social-economic conditions, historical traditions and national customs and other peculiarities distinct from those countries where capitalism developed. These peculiarities can by no means be ignored.

The experience gained in socialist revolution and socialist construction by those former colonial, dependent countries is very useful especially for the revolutionary struggles

of the oppressed nations and the peoples of the new-born independent states.

The more countries embark upon the path of socialism and the more varied the concrete conditions of each country become in the future, the more diverse experiences will be accumulated in socialist revolution and socialist construction.

The Parties of all countries make collective contributions to enriching the treasure house of Marxism-Leninism by skillfully solving theoretical and practical questions in the development of the revolution of their own countries.

The unity of the socialist camp and the solidarity of the international communist movement can be defended only by the conscious, responsible efforts of each fraternal Party and fraternal country.

The Communist and Workers' Parties and the socialist countries must invariably pursue the policy of trusting and respecting each other and supporting and co-operating with each other on a completely equal footing.

IV.

EACH COUNTRY OF THE SOCIALIST CAMP SHOULD BE STRENGTHENED

As they stand face to face with imperialism, the Communist and Workers' Parties in the socialist countries assume the common duty steadily to strengthen the might of the socialist camp.

In order to increase the might of the socialist camp, it is imperative to safeguard the unity of the socialist camp and, at the same time, to consolidate and develop each socialist country. Only when each socialist country, the basic unit of the

socialist camp, is consolidated and its strength pooled, the entire socialist camp can be strengthened.

The Parties of the socialist countries should exert every effort to fortify the social and political systems, develop economy and culture, improve the people's living, and to strengthen the defence capabilities in their respective countries. They should thus consolidate in every way the positions of socialism already secured. Without building up its own country firmly, no Party can fulfil the responsibility it has assumed before the people at home and the international working class.

Socialist revolution and socialist construction in each country are carried out, first of all, on its own strength.

The Communists must believe in their own strength before anything else. To mobilize under the guidance of the Party the inexhaustible strength of the people and the inner resources of their own countries to the maximum constitutes the basic guarantee for the successful carrying out of socialist construction.

Needless to say, this does not mean to exclude mutual co-operation and assistance among the socialist countries. The socialist countries must continue to develop the relations of mutual co-operation. Mutual co-operation and assistance among the fraternal countries are of great significance for the acceleration of socialist construction.

However, the decisive factor in the socialist revolution and socialist construction in each country lies in its own strength.

If one does not believe in one's own strength, counting only on another's assistance, one would be unable to carry out revolution and socialist construction. Such a stand has nothing in common with proletarian internationalism.

Only when one abides by the principle of self-reliance, can one successfully carry out socialist construction, lightening the fraternal countries of their burdens, and make a substantial contribution to the overall development of the socialist camp.

This, indeed, is a faithful attitude towards internationalism.

In this connection, Comrade Kim Il Sung stated:

"It is not the attitude of a revolutionary not to exert his own efforts, only looking for foreign aid. With such an attitude, we cannot accomplish the revolution. The decisive factor in the victory of our revolution lies in our strength. We must build new society in our country and achieve the final victory of the Korean revolution mainly by our own efforts. To do so conforms to the principles of proletarian internationalism, it is a way of contributing to development of the international revolutionary movement." (5)

In strengthening the might of the socialist camp, some countries are now confronted with the urgent task of building an independent national economy.

Each socialist country started building socialism in different social and historical conditions and on different levels of economic development. Certain countries had a relatively developed economy inherited from the past, while others set about building socialism with a backward economy as they were colonial or semi-colonial countries in the past.

In order to strengthen the might of the socialist camp as a whole under these circumstances, it is of primary necessity to construct an independent national economy as soon as possible in those countries which have inherited a backward economy.

Socialist countries must build a many-sided and comprehensive economy that can basically satisfy domestic requirements on their own, by means of establishing heavy industry with the machine-building industry as its core and developing light industry and agriculture. Only when economic independence is secured, can one consolidate the political independence of one's country and build up a modern, developed state. The establishment of an independent economy alone makes it possible to promote mutual economic co-operation and division of labour on the principles of equality and mutual benefit among the fraternal countries.

From the outset, all this should be quite clear to those who observe things objectively without prejudice.

Yet certain persons doggedly oppose and obstruct the line of self-reliance and of building an independent economy in the socialist countries. They brand the construction of an independent national economy as a "nationalistic tendency" or "closed economy," and accuse it of being a "politically dangerous and economically harmful" line. Distorting the truth, they draw a false picture as if the independent development of economy runs counter to co-operation and assistance among the socialist countries.

Babbling about "the traditions of production," "profitableness" and so on, they allege that a comprehensive economy developed in a many-sided way can be built only in big countries. This means in the final analysis that the other countries should develop only a few limited branches of economy and always have a one-sided economy.

All this is quite a strange logic.

One may ask: If it is the principle of mutual relations among the socialist countries to ensure complete equality and sovereignty and, on this basis, to co-operate with and assist each other, how could this principle be "dangerous" and "harmful" in the economic field? Is it not that those who oppose the economic independence of each socialist country want to reduce the principle of equality and sovereignty to empty words?

Without building a developed and diversified modern industry and modern agriculture, it is impossible to develop economy, culture, science and technology, improve the people's living and build socialism.

Those who oppose the building of an independent economy advocate, instead, the establishment of a "unified economy" of the socialist countries. They maintain that the "unified economy" is the most ideal form of international co-operation among the socialist countries at present. Under the signboard of "unified economy," they want to stamp out the economic

independence of the fraternal countries, control the development of their national economy and make it a lop-sided one subordinated to others'.

Today, the introduction of such "unified economy" will make it impossible to tap the inner resources in each country to the maximum, will dampen the initiative of the people and bring about confusion and stagnation in the development of economy.

The enforcement of "unified economy" will reduce in the long run the economy of each socialist country to an appendage of the economy of one or two countries, and subordinate it to the interests of development of the economy of one or two countries.

It goes without saying that the loss of independence in economy will make it impossible for any country to maintain its complete independence and sovereignty. There can be no genuine international co-operation in actuality where there is no independence and sovereignty.

To oppose the construction of an independent economy means in the final analysis that an economically backward country should remain backward and an agrarian country heretofore should remain an agrarian country for ever.

Then the difference in the level of development of the socialist countries will not be eliminated, but rather widened, and the dependency of a backward country on the developed will remain unchanged.

This will exert a negative influence upon the people of those countries which are still under the oppression of imperialism. The people of the world are closely following the socialist construction in all socialist countries. Especially, the socialist construction in the former colonial and semi-colonial countries is a matter of great concern to the people in the colonial and dependent countries as well as in the new-born independent countries.

If this or that socialist country denies the line of building

an independent economy and remains backward as ever, depending on others economically, it will inevitably give a distorted picture of the socialist system to the people of the colonial and dependent countries and the new-born independent countries.

If one is to remain dependent on others and cannot secure political and economic independence even after the socialist revolution, who on earth would want revolution?

The socialist camp can be more powerful only when not one or two but all the socialist countries are developed alike.

To this end, the Communists should not oppose the line of building an independent economy in the backward countries, but should actively support it.

Those countries which had made revolution ahead of others and have an advanced economy should positively help the socialist industrialization of those countries which effected revolution later and joined the socialist ranks with a backward economy. All countries should strive to eliminate their backwardness and catch up with the level of the developed, advanced countries. Mutual co-operation should be promoted further among the fraternal countries on the basis of developing the national economy of each socialist country and of strengthening its independence.

Only by so doing can the might of the socialist camp be truly consolidated like bedrock and also contribute to the fulfilment of world revolution. Then, the imperialists will be further pressed down by the might of the socialist camp and dare not commit aggressive acts.

The Communists should not be jealous or afraid of, but should rejoice in and actively assist the earliest development of the once backward fraternal countries into developed, mighty powers with the foundation of an independent economy. This is the genuine act of proletarian internationalism.

The Parties of the socialist countries should invariably adhere to this stand in respect of strengthening the defence

capabilities of the socialist camp as well. For the purpose of reinforcing the defence capacity of the socialist camp as firm as rock, it is imperative to strengthen the defence capacity of all the socialist countries, not a certain state alone.

The socialist camp is the champion of world peace and security of all nations. The socialist countries do not want war. But as long as imperialism exists, the danger of war cannot be removed. The armed forces in the hands of the socialist countries constitute a most powerful means of restraining the imperialists' policies of aggression and war, defending the socialist countries and safeguarding world peace.

Therefore, the slightest weakening of the armed forces of the socialist camp under whatever pretext is absolutely impermissible.

However, certain persons propagandize as though a certain country's armed forces alone were defending the entire socialist camp, as though the latest military technique of a certain country alone were maintaining the security of the socialist camp and world peace. They make light of the role of the other fraternal countries in the defence of the socialist camp and neglect their due co-operation in strengthening the defence power of these countries.

All who are truly concerned about the security of the socialist camp and world peace cannot agree to such a stand.

It goes without saying that the armed forces and the latest military technique of a powerful socialist country can play a great role in curbing the machinations of aggression and war of the imperialists and in defending the socialist camp if the Party of that country which possesses them holds fast to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Yet this does not mean that the defence of the socialist camp can be left entirely with the military power of any one country.

The defence of the socialist camp should rest on the armed forces of the entire socialist countries, it should not rest on a

certain weapon of the latest type alone but should rest on the strength of the people first and foremost.

In defending the socialist camp, each socialist country is assigned to a definite outpost to defend. In the defence of its own outpost, no socialist country should try to rely solely on the military power of another country.

Today, the imperialists are not only preparing a "total war" against the socialist camp and the world people. They are also carrying on "limited wars" and "special wars."

Under these circumstances, each socialist country should rely firmly on the military power of the entire socialist camp, and should, at the same time, make full preparations to counter any military strategic attack of the enemy by relying on its own strength and potentialities to the maximum. Hence, it is important for all the socialist countries alike to possess the latest military technique and strengthen their defence power through mutual co-operation.

This is the very stand of internationalist solidarity and militant unity to combat imperialism jointly and safeguard the gains of socialist revolution collectively.

In increasing the might of the socialist camp, the Parties of respective countries should also make consistent efforts to consolidate the socialist system they have already won.

It is an important task in this respect to strengthen the Marxist-Leninist Party, heighten the leading role of the working class, consolidate the worker-peasant alliance, and cement in every way the political and moral cohesion of the people.

The further socialist construction is promoted and the more the people's living standard is improved, the more it is necessary to intensify class and communist education of the masses. Where communist education is weakened, bourgeois ideas raise their head and the class consciousness of the masses is paralyzed.

Although the landlords and capitalists have been liquidated as a class, their remnants are yet to be fully erased and the

old ideological hang-over and old customs of life are still manifested conspicuously. The imperialists infiltrate into the socialist countries all kinds of spies, wreckers and saboteurs, spread all hues of noxious bourgeois ideas and decadent ways of life, relying on the remnant forces of the already liquidated exploiting classes, old ideological survivals and old manners and customs in these countries, and try to transmute the socialist countries and undermine them from within.

All this shows that class struggle should not be weakened in the socialist countries.

The Parties in the socialist countries should strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, a powerful weapon in the hands of the working class, and further enhance its role.

At present, some people, while speaking about "freedom," "democracy," "legality" and "humanism," try to paralyze the class consciousness of the working people and create ideological chaos, and want to give up class struggle. They allege that the dictatorship of the proletariat has completed its mission under the pretext that "hostile classes have been liquidated," that "there are no political offenders" and "objects of repression no longer exist." This is an attitude fraught with the danger of weakening the positions of socialism.

It is true that a fundamental change has taken place in the social and class structure of each socialist country. But this does not mean that class struggle has disappeared or that the dictatorship of the proletariat is no longer necessary.

Experience shows that when the people are not educated properly and the proletarian dictatorship is weakened in the socialist countries, bourgeois ideas tend to spread and people indulge in an idle and relaxed life and become degenerated and dissipated, social order is disturbed, the enemy at home and abroad is given the chance to commit subversive activities, and, furthermore, a grave danger can be created in the socialist system itself.

Only when vigilance is always sharpened against the sub-

versive manoeuvres of the imperialists and the proletarian dictatorship constantly strengthened in each socialist country, will the socialist positions be consolidated and the construction of socialism and communism carried out successfully.

The Parties in the socialist countries should steadily and persistently endeavour to heighten the class consciousness of the working people and to arm them firmly with the consciousness of the historical mission of the working class and the idea of carrying out the revolution to the end.

When all countries in the socialist camp are firmly fortified politically, economically, culturally and militarily, and their forces are united, the socialist camp will come to display an immeasurably great strength and fulfil its role as the bulwark of the struggle of the working class and the people of the whole world against imperialism and all the reactionary forces.

V.

THE SOCIALIST CAMP SHOULD ACTIVELY SUPPORT THE WORLD PEOPLE IN THEIR REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE

The ultimate goal of the Communists is to achieve the victory for socialism and communism on a world-wide scale.

The revolution in each country is a component of world revolution. The victory of revolution in individual countries is the process leading to the final victory of world revolution. Without consolidating the victory of revolution in individual countries, we cannot achieve the victory of world revolution, and, apart from the victory of world revolution, there can be no final victory of revolution in individual countries. The national task and international task of revolution are the two

sides of one coin. The Communists must fight to the last not only for the revolution in their own countries but also for the victory of world revolution.

Lenin taught us that the proletarian dictatorship should be turned from that of an individual country into that of the whole world.

The Communists should not regard as their objective the victory of revolution and socialist construction in their respective countries alone.

"The victory of socialism in one country is not a self-sufficient task. The revolution which has been victorious in one country must regard itself not as a self-sufficient entity, but as an aid, a means for hastening the victory of the proletariat in all countries." (J. Stalin) (6)

If one rests content with the successes gained in the revolution of one's own country and neglects world revolution, this is to call a halt to the revolutionary struggle halfway and retreat from the international cause of the proletariat. Only when they have accomplished the revolution in their respective countries and the world revolution can the Communists claim to have fulfilled the historical task assigned to them.

The Parties of the socialist countries must fight in the interests of both the people of their countries and the international working class and the oppressed working masses of the whole world. By so doing the socialist camp can fulfil properly its duty as the base of world revolution. Today the socialist countries are developing their economy and culture and doing everything in their power to consolidate the socialist camp. But that is not an end in itself; it is necessary also for furthering world revolution.

The socialist camp is supporting world revolution mainly in two ways: one is that the socialist countries incessantly encourage the world people to the revolutionary struggle through the examples in their own socialist construction, and the other is that they oppose the aggression and plunder by

the imperialists and give positive support, material and moral, to the liberation struggle of the peoples.

The Party of each socialist country should, first and foremost, carry out socialist and communist construction with credit in its own country. The socialist countries should demonstrate to the world people the superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system through the successes gained in socialist construction.

In the socialist countries political power is in the hands of the working people led by the working class; the source of exploitation and oppression is eliminated once and for all; unemployment and poverty are rooted out; the rights to work, rest and education are ensured; economy and culture develop rapidly; and the material and cultural life of the people improves steadily. All these facts should be clearly demonstrated. At the same time, we should demonstrate the political and moral unity of the whole society inherent in socialist society as well as the communist morality of the people and their noble traits.

This will further awaken the people of the capitalist world and encourage them to the struggle against the capitalist system itself.

But at present certain persons want to demonstrate the superiority of the socialist system only through economic competition. They palaver as though everything would be plain sailing if people lead a bountiful life giving themselves up to pleasure in the socialist countries.

If things go on like this, the true superiority of the socialist system cannot be demonstrated; rather this will obscure the basic difference between socialism and capitalism, with the result that people will conceive a wrong idea of socialism.

Stressing the significance of examples one-sidedly, they are also bent on subordinating the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed peoples to economic competition. They think that socialism will emerge victorious of its own accord in

capitalist countries if only socialist countries triumph in economic competition.

The victory of the socialist countries in economic competition is still not enough to guarantee victory for revolution in the capitalist countries.

Social revolution in a country is primarily the sum total of the work of the subjective and objective factors of the social development of the country.

The maturity of the revolutionary situation and the accomplishment of revolution are, first and foremost, the outcome of the internal development of the given country and depend on the consciousness and organisation of its people. The revolution in this or that country is prepared and performed by the people of the given country themselves; never by some other people.

Those who emphasize the significance of economic competition one-sidedly have actually deviated from the standpoint of class struggle.

Alleging that when the socialist countries win economic competition, the world people will all be liberated automatically, they ask why the people should wage revolutionary struggles making sacrifices.

Such allegation is, in fact, tantamount to preaching to the people to remain submissive to the arbitrariness of imperialism and colonialism. This is an attempt not to support and assist the revolutionary struggle of the people but to hamper the development of world revolution.

If we do not struggle for fear of sacrifices but just sit and wait, liberation and independence will never be attained.

Why those people who talk so much about the sacrifice in the revolutionary struggle shut their eyes to the fact that under the capitalist system innumerable working people are constantly suffering from exploitation and non-right, unemployment and poverty, hunger and disease, and are deprived of their lives every day and every hour? And how can they remain mere onlookers when the best sons and daughters of the peo-

ple are groaning in prisons and are being cruelly executed under the persecution and oppression by the imperialist brutes?

To support world revolution is the internationalist duty of the socialist countries and Communists. Lenin taught us that the country which has won victory should **"do the utmost possible in one country for the development, support and awakening of the revolution in all countries."** (7)

In supporting world revolution, with whom should the socialist countries ally themselves and where should they direct the spearhead of their attack? They should ally themselves with the international working class, with the oppressed peoples, with the oppressed nations and with all the progressive forces the world over. Furthermore, they should untiringly expand and strengthen the common front against imperialism and rally all the forces to isolate imperialism completely. With the united force of the people we should resolutely fight imperialism and direct the spearhead of our attack at U.S. imperialism, the most heinous enemy of the people of the world.

We must unite with all forces opposing imperialism and support every form of struggle against imperialism.

We should win over and support all the forces however small they may be in strength, so long as they are helpful to the weakening of imperialism even slightly.

The socialist countries should express their class solidarity with and give militant support to the world working class which is fighting for the revolutionary transformation of capitalist society, and support in every way the liberation struggle of the oppressed nations to break the chains of imperialism and colonialism. We should never make a compromise with any imperialists' machination to infringe upon the rights and interests of the people; we should hamper and frustrate every plot of the imperialists to export counter-revolution.

The socialist camp must resolutely fight for the cause of world peace. The struggle for peace is unthinkable apart from the struggle against imperialism.

The socialist camp must expose and shatter the imperialists' policies of aggression and war at every step and actively support and encourage the struggle of the forces of all strata for peace and democracy.

All this will serve to turn the situation more and more in favor of peace, democracy, national independence and socialism, and all the more unfavorable for imperialism. Only when the socialist camp adheres strictly to such a revolutionary stand, can it fully play its role as the base of world revolution both in name and deed.

To refuse to support the revolutionary struggle of the working class and the national liberation struggle of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America in order to be on good terms with the imperialists and not to offend them, and to oppose their armed struggle on the ground that it is fraught with the danger of war — all this is a betrayal of the revolutionary cause of the people and capitulation to the imperialists.

We should be watchful against the trend of not supporting world revolution as well as against such anti-class act as creating obstacles to the development of world revolution under the pretext of "aid".

The aid of the socialist countries must be rendered only in such a way as to consolidate the national independence of the recipient country and reinforce its revolutionary forces, and to weaken the positions of the imperialists in the international arena.

"Aid" deviating from this standpoint will help not the progressive forces but the reactionary forces, it will not conduce to the development of revolution but will hamper it.

The socialist countries must not render various aids including military aid to this or that country to enable it to use them in opposing and attacking a fraternal socialist country. Such an act is detrimental to world revolution.

The people of the socialist countries should always bear

in mind that it is their sacred internationalist duty to support the peoples who are fighting; they should uphold the revolutionary idea that the socialist construction in their own countries should serve the development of the world revolutionary movement.

If one is content with the victory of socialism in one's own country alone and lives a bountiful life regardless of others, only enjoying the fruits of the revolution already won, how can the socialist camp play the role of the base of world revolution?

If any socialist country allows its people to work less than others and pursue their own pleasure and ease, it will lead them to forgetting the sufferings of their class brothers and ignoring the interests of world revolution. This is not the attitude of the revolutionaries, and it has nothing to do with the sense of duty Communists should have. The people of the socialist countries must continue to put up a tense struggle and do more work for the prosperity and development of their countries and for the emancipation of the working people of the whole world.

World revolution is not over yet. We cannot avert our eyes from the fact that two-thirds of mankind are still subjected to the exploitation and oppression by capital. No small number of people are yet to throw off the disgraceful yoke of colonialism. Moreover, the imperialists are binding new-born independent states with colonial fetters of a new type.

No genuine Communists nor genuine internationalists could possibly feign ignorance of all these facts. As long as imperialism exists on this globe, the Communists cannot call a halt to their struggle.

Some people, however, oblivious of the historical mission they have assumed before the world working class, want to give up their struggle halfway, seeking a life of ease for the present. They have not only stopped making revolution themselves but are preventing others from making revolution as well.

If they do not make revolution and keep others from doing so, who on earth will undertake the revolution? If no one makes revolution, what will be the fate of the people who are not liberated yet?

Even though there are people who waver in face of difficulties and ordeals and desert the revolutionary ranks, getting weary of revolution, those who have to carry out the revolution must continue their struggle.

All the Marxist-Leninist Parties must firmly unite with the people of the world, so as to advance the revolutionary movement further and must carry forward the revolution to the last.

The support and encouragement rendered by the socialist camp to the world people is by no means unilateral. The socialist countries give support and encouragement to the world people and, at the same time, are given support by the latter which they are in need of. The support of the people of the world constitutes a tremendous encouragement and assistance to the socialist countries.

The revolutionary struggle of the working class and the toiling masses against the oppression by capital and the liberation struggles of the peoples of colonial and dependent countries deal blows at imperialism and its colonial system and weaken its positions. This makes a great contribution toward turning the balance of forces in favor of socialism in the international arena and strengthening the might of the socialist camp.

If the people of the capitalist countries resolutely fight against the policies of aggression and war pursued by their governments and succeed in frustrating them, that will not only safeguard the interests of the people of the countries concerned but also render great support to the socialist countries. If the imperialists are bound hand and foot and peace is maintained and consolidated by a stubborn common struggle of the peoples of the countries of the world, socialist construction will be further promoted in the socialist countries.

Whenever the imperialists came out with frantic machina-

tions against the socialist camp in the past, the working class in the capitalist countries and all the oppressed peoples and nations came out to support and protect the socialist countries. This gave great encouragement to the socialist countries. We still remember the active support rendered by the world people to the just struggle of the Korean people in the years of the severe war against U.S. imperialism.

There is no country that does not need the support of the working people of the world. Mutual support and assistance will redouble our strength and promote the revolutionary cause.

The working people and the oppressed peoples of the whole world must further strengthen their unity on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and wage a stubborn struggle against imperialism. When the people of the countries in the great socialist camp and the people of the whole world unite and fight, they will certainly win final victory.

VI.

WE MUST OPPOSE REVISIONISM AND SAFEGUARD MARXISM-LENINISM

The socialist camp is a powerful base for the liberation struggle of the working class and the people of the whole world and the invincible bulwark of world peace. The people of the world count, and pin their hope, on the prosperity of the socialist camp and the development of the international communist movement, and link up their vital interests with them.

When united and cemented, the socialist camp and the international communist movement are powerful and mighty and are capable of discharging the historical duty they assume before the progressive mankind.

Today, however, the socialist camp and the international communist movement are confronted with a serious situation owing to internal differences of views.

The differences which emerged in the international communist movement have now grown into those of principles concerning the destiny of the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

The differences have a bearing not merely on the methods of struggle in the communist movement but on the fundamental questions of revolution: they cover not isolated questions but the general questions of the Marxist-Leninist theories, strategy and tactics.

Today the questions are: whether we should adhere to Marxism-Leninism or not, whether we should fight against imperialism or not, whether we should carry the revolution forward to the end or not.

The current polemics in the international communist movement are in the final analysis a struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism.

Under the pretext that the "situation has changed," the modern revisionists emasculate the revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism, openly violating the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement of the Meetings of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties.

The revisionists compromise with the imperialists in an unprincipled manner, make undue concessions and meekly submit to them.

They abhor revolution and give it up, and scheme to drag the Parties and Communists of various countries into the quagmire of revisionism.

The revisionists kick up a dust in all parts of the world. They cause confusion and strain in the ranks of the international communist movement and try to split the socialist camp. They discredit socialism and impair the prestige of the socialist camp everywhere, they try to destroy one by one the great

strongholds built by the sweat and blood of the working class of the whole world over a long period.

Should such state of affairs be left alone, where would it lead the socialist camp and international communist movement?

It is evident that if we fail in good time to get rid of the right opportunism which has appeared in the ranks of the communist movement, the cause of the international working class will suffer heavy losses.

There can be no compromise between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism, and the revolutionary line is incompatible with the opportunist line.

Without combating revisionism, it is impossible to save the grave situation created in the socialist camp and the international communist movement, advance the communist movement, and fulfil the historical cause of the working class.

It is a pressing revolutionary task of the Communist and Workers' Parties and the Communists of the world to fight against modern revisionism and in defence of Marxism-Leninism.

Today, to fight against revisionism is a question related not only to individual Parties but to the Parties and Communists of all countries of the world.

The present situation calls upon all the Communists of the world to study calmly and ponder over the actual state of affairs with a deep sense of responsibility and determine their correct position. The Communists of each country all bear responsibility for their Party and revolution in their country, and all the Marxist-Leninist Parties and Communists of the world, for the international communist movement.

The questions arising in the socialist camp and international communist movement must be solved by us Communists.

The present grave situation can by no means be saved by a few Parties or a few persons. It can be solved in accordance with the principles of Marxism-Leninism only through the joint efforts of all Parties and Communists of the world.

Needless to say, the method and form of struggle against revisionism may differ according to the specific conditions of each Party. What method and form it should adopt is a question to be judged and decided by the Party of the given country itself. The Marxist-Leninist Parties and Communists must take part in this struggle from a principled and independent stand.

In the first place, we deem it necessary for the Communists of all Parties to raise their voice against revisionism and curb the activities of the revisionists.

We must exert pressure on the revisionists, isolate them, and prevent revisionism from being infiltrated into the masses. We must see to it that no one is taken in by revisionism. We must revolutionize and unite all Communists and the masses so that the whole Party may take a firm Marxist-Leninist stand, and must firmly build up the communist, revolutionary ranks.

It is no less important that each Party, while combating revisionism, should resolutely reject the practice of imposing revisionism on others in the ranks of the international communist movement and should not follow it.

Certain persons, taking advantage of the established authority of their Party, are spreading revisionism everywhere and forcing other Parties to follow in their footsteps. They are eager to enlist "colleagues" who are willing to support and keep step with their revisionist stand.

The Marxist-Leninist Parties and Communists should resolutely reject such an act and allow no one to place the socialist camp and the international communist movement under their control.

One should not accept revisionism imposed on him, nor follow in the footsteps of the revisionists. The Communists under no circumstances should depart from their principled stand, but should always maintain their independent position.

We consider that for opposing revisionism and safeguarding Marxism-Leninism, criticism and self-criticism should be

extensively unfolded and an ideological struggle should be energetically waged within the ranks of the international communist movement and within the Parties of all countries.

Criticism and self-criticism are an incisive weapon of the ideological struggle of the Communists.

The differences which have emerged in the international communist movement today are in the final analysis an ideological and political question on the basic stand of all Parties and Communists. Such a question cannot be solved by a coercive method or by glossing over the state of affairs. It can be settled only through criticism and self-criticism, through an acute ideological struggle, by all the Communists.

Lenin taught us: **"The duty of the Communists is not to hush up the weaknesses of their movement, but to criticise openly to get rid of them speedily and radically."** (8)

Through the ideological struggle we can further temper all the Parties and Communists, arm the masses with the revolutionary ideology and prepare them for the revolutionary struggle.

Criticism and self-criticism should be conducted freely on the basis of facts and on an equal and impartial footing. In conducting criticism and self-criticism a strictly principled, comradely stand should be maintained. Such acts as suppressing the just voice of the Communists, labelling them as "sectarians" and the like and resorting to retaliation should not be allowed in the ranks of the international communist movement or in individual Parties.

Communists should have the courage and capacity to correct their mistakes.

The extensive exercise of criticism and ideological struggle against revisionism will draw a clear line between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism and will enable everyone to see clearly who is in the right and who is in the wrong. Then revisionism will go bankrupt and the international communist movement will be able to preserve the purity of its ranks. Only

by so doing, is it possible to safeguard the unity of the socialist camp and the solidarity of the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, and develop the communist movement on a sound foundation.

There may emerge some laggards in the course of the arduous struggle against the class enemy, but, with their purity safeguarded, the revolutionary ranks will be further reinforced and will keep on growing. The Communists should steadily build up their ranks in a revolutionary manner through the struggle against revisionism and opportunism. Experience shows that only when the revolutionary ranks are firmly consolidated with one and the same Marxist-Leninist ideology, is it possible for them to become a powerful militant detachment and energetically push ahead with the revolution.

The international communist movement has developed and won victories through the fierce struggles against the anti-Marxist, opportunist ideological trends of all hues.

Temporary twists and turns were encountered in the course of these struggles. Invariably abiding by their revolutionary line, however, the Communists have surmounted the difficulties, and steadily developed their ranks from the small to the large, from the weak to the strong.

At one time, the revisionists in the Second International, taking advantage of their leading posts, created great confusion in the international communist movement. The strength of the revisionists seemed very great at that time.

But the true Communists headed by Lenin completely defeated revisionism by waging a staunch struggle in defence of revolutionary Marxism, overcoming all difficulties, and developed the international communist movement onto a new, higher stage.

Today the international communist movement has grown beyond comparison with the past. There has appeared a huge army of millions of, tens of millions of, Communists armed with the ideas of Lenin. The revolutionary banner of Marxism-

Leninism is held firmly in the hands of the Communists and is waving in all parts of the world.

In the guise of Leninism the modern revisionists may temporarily succeed in deceiving the people. But they can never cover up the great truth of Marxism-Leninism, nor can they arrest the powerful current of the international communist movement.

Today the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed working masses and the national-liberation struggle are on a steady upsurge despite the manoeuvrings of the modern revisionists. The true colours of the revisionists are being brought to light and their opportunist line is going bankrupt before the gigantic revolutionary struggle of the working class and the oppressed peoples of the whole world. The great vitality of Marxism-Leninism is being further confirmed through practice and the revolutionary communist ranks are steadily growing in the fierce struggles against the enemies.

As long as there exist exploitation and oppression by the imperialists and their lackeys, the popular masses will rise up in demand of liberation and independence, and the communist movement will further develop with the rise of the revolutionary struggle of the people. The defeat of revisionism and the victory of Marxism-Leninism are inevitable.

The Communists of the whole world must raise higher the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism.

All the Marxist-Leninist Parties must unite and the Communists of the whole world must unite. The Marxist-Leninist Parties and the Communists must resolutely safeguard the unity of the socialist camp and the solidarity of the international communist movement, must closely unite with the revolutionary peoples of the whole world and carry forward the revolution to the end.

In any complex situation the Korean Communists who are standing face to face with U.S. imperialism, the chieftain of world reaction, have always opposed revisionism and upheld

the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement of the Meetings of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties. Our Party has resolutely fought against imperialism and actively supported the revolutionary struggle of the working class and the people of the whole world.

From the first days of the emergence of differences in the international communist movement, our Party has consistently upheld the principle of unity.

In the future, too, our Party will remain faithful to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and to the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement of the Meetings of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, and will wage a staunch struggle against imperialism and revisionism and in defence of the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

We are convinced that the Communists and working people of the whole world will continue to march forward vigorously, raising high the immortal banner of Marxism-Leninism, and win a great victory.

NOTES

- (1) V. I. Lenin, Selected Works, New York 1943, Vol. X, P. 197, English ed.
- (2) J. Stalin, Speech Delivered at the 19th Congress of the C.P.S.U. (B)
- (3) V. I. Lenin, Selected Works, Moscow 1952, Vol. II, Part 2, P. 420, English ed.
- (4) Kim Il Sung, Selected Works, Pyongyang 1960, Vol. V, P. 245, Korean ed.
- (5) Kim Il Sung, Immediate Tasks of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Pyongyang 1962, P. 25, English ed.
- (6) J. Stalin Works, Moscow 1953, Vol. VI, P. 415, English ed.
- (7) V. I. Lenin, Selected Works, New York 1943, Vol. VII, P. 182, English ed.
- (8) V. I. Lenin, Selected Works, New York 1943, Vol. X, P. 163, English ed.

